"THE YEAR OF OUR FORD"

If Nixon's tapes lead to the belief he read nothing but Sic Crises his record is that of the man who mastered Orwell.

Nothing on Orwell's precient political satire was too ridiculous to be Nixon's grim practise. Even the militant kids who took to the streets never mentioned this but it is the fact.

"War is peace" in Orwell's satire. Nixon waged war in Southeast Asia for four of the cruelest years and not only called it peace but continued it to make an election issue of his bringing"peace" to the corner of the world that remains in flames. It was as it had been with his innocent household pet and his wife's so-called Republican cloth coat, they were the issues on which he ran for vice president.

Them and "driving the crooks out of Washington." He meant the kind of people who would take a deepfreeze as a present.

The version of this book that grew too long began with an account of Nixon's career of always being on the take. His personal crookedness began with a college escapade, a break-in, no less. Into the Dean's office. His political career began with taking money from the Baltimore corporation he was supposedly investigating for the Navy in World War II contracts. He used this money to fly to California to file against the most notorious red-baiter of the day, the liberal Jerry Voorhis, who Nixon beat by red-baiting him to death. The illegal gifts he took from wealthy ultra-right Californians, when exposed, led to his Checkers speech. When he ran for Governor of California after JFK beat him he was caught in sweatheart deals on property, with Mafia and Teamster overtones, and he claimed persecution. One of the better ways of being persecuted is to buy valuable property for less than the mortgage on it.

No matter how one counts it, and the counting goes on, no calculation of Nixon's take as President comes to less than a million dollars and ten times that much in tax money was put into property his acquisition of which is is sheer generosity to call "clouded."

Two years after it was exposed that he'd swindled the Treasury out of a malf-million in federal taxes alone with a crooked deal on "his" papers, meaning those paid for by tax money and generated while he held earlier offices, the full magnitude of that swindle remained to be breguthte public light. Everybody was afraid. Full exposure would have involved officials of the General Services Administration - his appointees - and of the Justice Department -- from his Attorney General down - in conspiracies/ to commit fraud. By then he first Attorney General was under mulptiple indictments and his second a self-confessed felon. Convicted but not jailed because with him crime was judicially determined to be an act of over-zealous friendship for which the judge praised him from the bench and his more serious crimes, which include perjury, were uncharged in the deal.

Having given the country the administration which set a record for criminality and for jailed officials, the first Attorney General to be convicted and so large an assortment of lesser felons, Nixon displayed his superiority to his appointees by escaping even indictment, a feat without equal and made possible by his "enemies" and their gutlessness.

In this practise of Orwell Nixon thus had run on a "law and order" platform. His promise was to take crime off the streets. No politican was ever more faithful to a campaign promise. Nixon took crime from the streets and moved it into the White House, the halls of Justice and all subordinate agencies fpr which he found time and opportunity.

While he was diligent in his pursuit of personal baodle he did not neglect the basic legal structure of the land. John Mitchell set to re-writing the Constitution into a machine for the authoritarianiging the nation, His major ~~effort~~ public effort was before the annual convention of the American Bar Association, which was without notable protest. ( )

Mitchell's fellow felon was Robert Mardian. Mardian, who handled Watergate hush-money, had been the Nixon-Mitchell Assistant Attorney General in Charge of the Internal

Security Division until he moved to CREEP. By the time this combination was swept from public office they had converted the fundamental American right embodied in the grand jury system into a means of perpetual persecution of the politically unpopular and an instrument for denying the rights it was supposed to preserve and protect. An issue of the American Trial Lawyers' Association magazine, Trial ( ) is devoted to discussion of this single subversion of the most fundamental American rights.

True to Orwell, Nixon and company called it "law and order."

Nixon brought no major innovations to public corruption. His major asset was a great lack of scruple than any prior politican of any rank ever brought to public office. Nixon was a copier, even a plagiarist in his speeches. His greatest delights, joys his on-camera smirking barely hid, were in stealing the felicitous phrases of his greatest enemy, JFK and turning them around in their meanings. Most previous administrations had all been tainted with financial scandals, generally petty, like the deepfreeze gifts of the Truman period. The major graft scandals had, however, been in two prior Republican administration's, Grant's and Harding's. In neither case did personal corruption touch the President.

That came closer in the Eisenhower administration. Ike, the ebenficiary of special legislation that made what was crooked tax benefits for other men legal for him, became wealthy by it. His top assistant, Sherman Adams, was forced out over what was called a vicuna coat scandal in which his friend and benefactor of a long political career gave him such a coat. Jack Andersen later published evidence that hidden by this coat was money well into six figures.

Real graft moved into the White House itself when Richard Nixon became vice president. With him as President, even his employees dipped into the White House safe, as John Dean was to confess before the Senate Watergate committee. (M).

Self-preservation becomes important to a man this cunning and this dedicated to enjoying the side benefits once considered characteristic of the so-called "banana

republics" only. In this Nixon owes a great debt to a man little known outside of Maryland and known uniquely in Maryland as the most persisting dumdum in its political history.

George Mahoney grew wealthy as a contractor, a business in which political payoffs and public contracts are the hand and the glove. Maryland is nominally a Democratic state. Mahoney is a Democrat. In a lifetime of office seeking one of Mahoney's unique accomplishments is to elect Republicans. Whatever nomination he was able to snaffle, his Republican opponent was always the beneficiary.

One of Mahoney's not inconsiderable accomplishments is an inability to speak in sentences. In fact, by the time of his last campaign he has established beyond question that he didn't know what a sentence is and made prominent public display in TV appearances and debates that he was unable to complete the expression of the simplest thoughts. He entertained no other kind but he never managed to express them.

Thanks to Mahoney's capture of the Democratic nomination for governor the election before Nixon became President, his little-known Republican opponent, Spiro Tehodore Agnew became Givernor. Nobody knew Agnew. It was enough that they knew Mahoney.

~~Agnewisxsinglexmajorxperformxxxx~~ One single act by Agnew made him a ~~pu~~ national figure. During that era of campus turmoil when blacks made an issue of the underfinancial and general ~~xxxx~~ denial of adequate facilities in the institutions to which they were restricted, there was a modest protest at Morgan State College, one of these neglected black colleges. Agnew's characteristic and instinctive reaction was racist. It made him famous, a fame that could not have been his from his prior public offices, head of the PTA and executive officer of wealthy Baltimore County (which does not include the city of the same name).

What goes on in the traditional smoke-filled rooms becomes known only from reports sttributed to those who, inside them, negotiate and bargain. One of these reports is that Nixon chose Agnew to run as vice president in a deal with ultra Strom Thurmond, a hawk of a Democrat turned Republican over the race issue, in the hope that this bribe to the south would deliver southern vote for Nixon. It was, in fact, his margin.

Agnews practise in campaigning authenticates the report from those smoke-filled rooms. He became racist with etithets like "Jap" and Pollak" and, when surprised by the strong negative reaction, had a ready answer: how could he, a Greek, be a racist?

It is traditional that conventions rubber-stamp ~~thxxxxxxxxxxx~~ presidential candidates choice of running-mates. It is also the conventional political wisdom, violated in recent years only by the McGovern campaign, that the presidential candidate learns all there is to know about his running mate before making his choice public.

Graftx is traditional in Maryland politics. Nowhere was it less secret that in Baltimore County. Without investigation it was a safe assumption that Agnew was on the take. With any kind of investigation of his ~~xxxxxxxx~~ finances only proof had to surface. Agnew lived inxx style that his known income could not account for.

Whether or not Nixon knew he selected as his Vice President a man who was a crook may be a question. That Agnew's crookedness became one of Nixon's major assets in avoiding impeachment is beyond question. This meant also that in the end Nixon would have still another asset, selecting with no opposition the next man to be a single heart-beat away from the presidency should anything happen to Nixon. Including impeachment.

And thus it was that Nixon's personal appointee as United States Attorney for Maryland came to Nixon's rescue. George Beall, whose father had been a hack Republican Congressman and Senator uniquely without disctinction other than in doing his party duties and whose brother was then Nixonian Senator, started an investigation it is said of Democratic crookedness of Baltimore County and just stumbled on a plethora of incriminating evidence against Agnew. In the deal that enable Agnew to avoid becoming the first American Vice President jailed, and jailed as an uncommonly common crook. Agnew agreed to a compromise in which he admitted to ~~ax~~ bill of particulars 40 pages long. His admitted crookedness was for a ten-year period extending into his Vice Presidency.

The mere verbatim printing of these specifications consumed three full pages of the Washington Post of October 11, 1973. Most of its main news section was devoted to this unprecedented story of unprecedented criminality of the Nixon "law and order" administration.

"Law and order" and its companion, "justice," administered by Nixon through his

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Now there had been no more visible, no more vocal Nixonian than Agnew. There was nothing of which in Nixon's service Agnew was not capable. It is he who launched the major Nixon assault on the press/ as ~~xxxxxxx~~ corrupt,as politically opposed to Nixon and that mysterious something for which Nixon allegedly stood and thus long before Nixon needed fears instilled in the media, Agnew did it. With the federallt-licensed media this was especially effective because the possibilities of Nixonian retribution were obvious.

In this service there was no lie of which Agnew was not capable. The overwhelmingly Rpublican-owned press became Democrat controlled in the Nixon-Agnew version. The reality is that virtually 100% of the press supported Nixon's re-election.

So crude and crude was Nixon's sacrifice of Agnew as Nixon's shield that the New York Post's Agnew-hating co,umnist, Pete Hamill, was moved to write - before the ax fell on Agnew's neck, that "If a guy from Bay Ridge treated his friends the way Nixon has treated Agnew, John Mitchell, or L. Patrick Gray they would pick his remains out of an ashtray some Saturday night."

The Nixon gang was hardbitten, going after Agnew with such vengeance so that Nixon might escape impeachment by the sacrifice of Agnew that had not Agnew accepted the deal, they had planned to lay a 50-count indictment on him. (Post 10/17/73) Agnew could not have lived long enough to serve out the sentences possible.

personally-appointed Attorney General and personally-appointed United States Attorney for Maryland, worked their way and there was, naturally, a deal. Agnew copped a plea, paid a wrist-slap $10,000 fine and continued for a long period with both feet in the public trough. (Post 10/11/73) 6A The deal included Agnew's resignation, the only alternative to which was impeachment. This meant that Agnew would be publicly silent, would have no single word to say about Nixon, whose impeachment had been publicly discussed for more than a year, before the investigation that offed Agnew.

"Most Agnew Aides Placed in U.S.Jobs," The WashingtonPost reported three months later. (1/20/74) This silenced those most likely to be in a position to say what Nixon did not want said. What Nixon did not want said is the part he had in baling himself out by throwing Agnew overboard. One story along this line was headed "Probe Leaks Blamed on Nixon Aides." (Post 12/14/73) "There were unquestionably leaks from the White House," Beall admitted, "as part of a plan to pressure Agnew into resigning." (Post 12/14/73)

A Northwestern University professor of Consttitutional law, Thomas Todd, is among the not inconsiderable number who saw the Agnew deal and Nixon's part in it as "the perfect escape hatch for President Nixon." (Chicago Today, 10/12/73) This, as Todd and others clearly saw, enable Nixon to appoint a "friendly" successor to Agnew who, "if Nixon later resigned// ...would serve as Nixon's insurance policy against his ever being brought to trial for alleged criminal activities." (Chicago Today 10/12/73)

Obvious as this was, it received little attention and virtually no thought in the repositories of power. It also turned out to be precisely accurate, more accurate than even the few Todds who were heard expected.

Nixon had it all planned out. The day after the printing of the bill of particulars against Agnew and his coordinated resignation, Nixon announced his selection of Congressman Gerald Rudolph Ford, Republican leader in the House of Representatives, to be the country's first unelected Vice President. (Post 10/13/73) He later became the first unelected President.

Like Nixon, Ford's Congressional record was singularly without accomplishment. His one achievement was in limiting the enemies he made. Survival for him was not difficult. He came from a safe constituency of which Grand Rapids is the best Michigan known landmark. Lyndon Johnson, no mean political phrase-monger, had said of Ford that he had played football too long without a helmet and that he was so stupid he couldn't chew gum and walk straight at the same time.

However, this same Johnson apparently found his estimate of Ford to be a political asset because in time of Johnson's great political need, to quiet and control the official account of how KFK was assassinated, which also means how Johnson became President, he chose Ford as one of his Commission's members. It escaped attention that in his selection of the Commission's seven members Johnson departed from tradition and undeviating precedent to appoint a major of five our of seven from the minority Republican party.

Ford more than justified Johnson's confidence in him. He was an unquestioning supporter of the official line on the assassination, the line that became the substitute for both fact and investigation, as my series of six books establish.

When there were leaks from the assassination inquiry and Ford wanted to be cleared, he asked J. Edgar Hoover to "investigate" him. Hoover sent an agent to accept Ford's denial that he had leaked. This was the FBI's total "investigation" that Ford proudly proclaimed had "cleared" him. (Whitewash II, p. 8)

When there was money to be made from this added post, Ford alone of the seven Commissioners commercialize his work. To facilitate this and eliminate any work for himself he put John R. Stiles, his former campaign manager on the public payroll, calling him a special assistant on Warren Commission affairs. There was no such post, there were no such duties to perform, Stiles figures in no Warren Commission work, but he did ghost Ford's book, Portrait of the Assassin. They split the loot, disappointing as it was, and also ghosted a private Warren Report for Life magazine from which the return was not what Ford would have like. However, he is a man who was content with what he could get as long as it cost him nothing.

With the public paying Stiles, whatever Ford got was better than nothing. He also got considerable free attention, which is a payoff to politicians.

However, when Ford had done no investigating and when he knew no more than the Commission would report he did face a problem in having something to sell other than his and Stiles' distortions of the Commission's views. Ford's solution to this problem was simple. It could not have been unknown to Nixon. Ford simply stole a Top Secret transcript of a Warren Commission executive session so ultra-secret that no member of the staff was permitted to be present or even read the transcript. It is with this sensation that Ford's book opens.

For, however, was not content to steal a document classified so highly that it is a criminal offense and if classified honestly ~~xx~~ could mean war would result.

The session was allegedly to consider the secret evidence that the accused assassin. Lee Harvey Oswald, had been some kind of federal agent. I had sought to obtain a copy properly for about six years. Finally, in a bizarre suit under the Freedom of Information law, I did obtain a copy. It is printed in facsimile in WHITEWASH IV, which also containsdetails of Ford's personal dishonesties, extending to perjury. ~~Nut~~

Ford was not content merelt to steal and sell this transcript. He edited it, omitting any indication of editing. What he eliminated is all the substance, the evidence that proved the Report of his Commission and the content of his book are fakes.

SA (Whitewash IV, Throughout)

More, and not insignificant, this transcript is the most definitive self-condemnation of federal intelligence agencies, particularly the CIA and FBI. Their importance in The Watergate investigation and related matters is great. Ford, in eliminating every adverse word without indicating any omissions, did them a major favor and put them in his personal debt.

Were this not enough to qualify him as Nixon's personal choice, Ford added to this unique record when he was questioned in his confirmation hearings by swearing falsely. If not before that moment he then became a true Nixonian, a criminal in high office. His crime was perjury. He swore that "we did not use in that book any material other than the material that was in the 26 volumes of testimony and exhibits. ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ (WHITEWASH

IV, p. 12) At the time of this perjury what Ford stole and sold was still classified Top Secret. Not until the next year, in response to my efforts of so many years, was it declassified/on June 14. (WHITEWASH IV, p. 15)

A more complete and more dishonest alteration of this stolen Top Secret transcript for political objections is impossible to conceive. A word-for-word comparison ~~xxxx~~ of Ford's corruption and the original establishes this.(WHITEWASH IV, pp. 124-30)

In this record alone Ford established himself as a man true to Nixon's ethics, morals and principles.

But there was more, his part in the Nixonian/Watergaters "Impeach Douglas" campaign. This all society's protective institutions also managed to avoid mentioning when Ford's confirmation as Vice President was under consideration. The avoidance was not accidental, as my own efforts establish. I made strong and repeated efforts to get those who were most vocal in trying to force Nixon out of office to use the work I had by them already completed.

Not one would.

Major newspapers and newsmagazines, a TV net, the AFL-CIA and several on Capitol Hill are among those who just would not get interested in their record of the man next-in-line to ~~complete~~ continue the ruin of the land. By then the political and economic toll of Nixon and his Watergate were being felt acutely. Ford's earlier joint operation with The Watergaters, not reporter, but the subject of "investigative reporting," became a non-event. The Watergate was front-page news but a new President-to-be with Watergate connections was not news. Not of political interest.

The infantilism of the political thinking was spelled out for me at the AFL-CIO: the faster we get another vice president the faster we can get Nixon out.

But the ~~xxxxx~~ kind of vice president, the qualities of the man who would with some certainty soon be chief executive? To this there was no thought, in it no concern.

When the times called for a leader with the promise of providing leadership, a a man who could soon needs, feel them and find ways of meeting them, a man who could not chew gum and walk straight was a perfectly good choice if it means a few days less of

Nixon. It didn't, of course. Once Ford was confirmed, and there was no real opposition to it, Nixon's continuance in office was more certain, not less.

Why should anyone want a man of Ford's proven nothingness to ~~xxxx~~ anyone else?

A man whose long political history was as undistinguished, with no success except political survival in a safe district and whose only asset was not having made many enemies? A man who, when he tried to put belief into action reached his highest point in the aborted effort to impeach Douglas, with the associates he had in it, with the suggestion of blackmail added? This kind of man a leader or what the country also needed, a healer? He a man who could bring the disgusted and discouraged people back into the political process, who could draw the fractionated politicians together so that what needed doing might be done?

If there was any public discussion by the real leadership of the land about what kind of President Ford would make, I saw and heard none.

It was the same kind of non-thinking by those with power that had seen to it that there was a non-investigation of Nixon and the entire Watergate mess.

Nobody seemed to think or even care about why, with all the people in the country from whom to draw, from all the legislators and governors and others of statute, Nixon was ready, once he ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ threw Agnew to the chasing wolves and slowed them down a bit, with Ford. Why Ford of all the possible choices when Nixon had a free choice, a choice without limitations?

The obvious answer is that Nixon saw benefit in Ford, that he felt Ford would serve Nixon's efforts to remain unimpeached - and out of jail - best with Ford as his successor. And this alone should have given the Congress pause.

There was no thinking as there was no real investigating. Two of the other efforts I made with major-media elements in the same period illustrate this incapacity of those with influence to think and act as the needs of the country demanded.

For me any effort, any giving away of my work, jeopardized it. A writer lives by his writing. Experience had taught me that those who do not dig information up or out

often fail to understand it and more often tend to misuse it, having more interest in the immediacy of a single headline than developments of a full story.

By invitation I saw the chief investigative man of a TV net and the experienced specialist on The Watergate of a major newsmagazine the same day. The first had, following phone conversation, expressed an interest in an unexposed proof of more CREEP laundering of money and evidence of secret payoffs. In a year of suppose investigating neither he nor any other "investigators" had checked my obvious, public source. I kept my promise and gave him an electrostatic copy of the Nash check to Hogan & Hartson as a substitute for those identifiable bills Dorothy Hunt had with her in that fatal crash. This man lost a colleague in that same crash. He didn't know what to do with the check. I said let me work with you, I'll show you what it means and leads to.

The suggestion horrified him. Here they were, this major national institution with all that highly-paid experienced staff. Did they need help?

What did this suggest to him as evidence, I asked, to what did he think it would lead him?

He had no ready answer. But he remained offended that any outside help could be used by his national news institution.

And so that payoff channel remained unexposed, the Bittman part in the bribery went unreported and the bribery itself was masked, and Hunt continued to swear falsely every time he took an other.

To any real investigator, even at that relatively late date, following up the leads that one bit of evidence, that single check provided, could have hastened the ~~minimum~~ healing of the worst wound the nation had suffered.

This man is not alone. I gave the hidden serial numbers of all the bills Dorothy Hunt carried to others, in the media and in the Congress, and there was no tracing of them to an identifiable source, ~~an~~ evidence of still more illegal money and more crooked CREEPing. This history of the FBI's lack of interest in these same bills and their ~~x~~ identification and tracing also was of no interest, not even to those supposedly investugating it, at least one of whom was a former FBI man and one of the better

There is so much guilt to be shared, abdication of responsibility was so widespread, naming names would be to single a few out for responsibility all shared.

At the news magazine's office, in its conference room, I laid out a much more detailed account of the unexposed of which I had already developed proof and of leads that were certain to lead to other and solid proofs. One of those illustrates the true nature of what has come to be called "investigative reporting."

I told this man that in that very building there was a hidden CIA domestic operation and there was a good probability any decent inquiry would place Hunt in it and in prescribed, illicit activity.

Now that did interest him. It explained to him why, when he saw a friend he knew was CIA in the elevator, this friend signalled that he wanted not to be recognized. It happened often. Bad vibes. They met often enough, naturally, being in the same building each day. But when the CIA had its vast new building "accross the river" this experienced reporter had no curiosity about why one of its men had an office in downtown Washington. Had he checked the building directory he'd have found no listing for CIA. And had he checked the floor on which he friend left the elevator he'd have found only reason to believe it held a covert operation.

Not news?

Not more important news at the time of Watergate investigation?

Pinpointing that building as the nest of this secret CIA operation was so simple I was able to do it at home, without taking a step, by reading the entries in the Washington City directory! It required no more than a reading of what had become public in Hunt's own words to identify the single city block. Each is listed separately in the ~~xxxx~~ directory published for each city.

This is so simple it can hardly be called investigating. But no single reporter of no single element of the news media had the imagination or took the trouble. And thus it remains unknown to the people that to the CIA the United States is for all the world just another potential enemy land in which it needs its own "station."

Subordinate to the major instalation, the station, there are bases. In all potential enemy countries, including the United States. They are not as well hidden as the spooks think. But with this ~~kind~~ kind of reporting, the spooks don't have to try hard as they spy on their own people. It wouldn be easy to identify CIA bases near its station at 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW., a new building most of whose offices hold reporters and columnists.

Even the Reporters' Committee for Freedom of the Press.

Maybe some day one will look into what was done on the fifth floor.

For my own purposes, with the limitations imposed on one man undertaking so large an inquiry-analysis while doing other work, it was sufficient to ask a man whose disgust over ~~XXXXXXX~~ CIA improprieties had led him to quit in mid-career. He confirmed what it had taken so little effort to figure out.

The Mullen/Bennett/Hunt office, the office whose cover was used by the Watergaters and on Dossier on Douglas, is on the same side of that block, at the eastern corner.

So, nobody had any interest if Ford or in investigating him or in trying to figure out why he alone of all Americans was Nixon's immediate choice to be the first appointed American Vice President, which also meant waiting to be the first President ever chosen by the man he would succeed.

And so Nixon, without difficulty, with no real problem of any kind, put in office the man who, as Law Professor Thomas Todd had put it and as was obvious to any analyst, "would serve as Nixon's insurance policy against him ever being brought to trial for alleged criminal activities."

Nixon had almost another years of rearguard fighting aided by this protection that was so unhidden Ford took the stump in Nixon's defense. During that year Nixon was making his necessary arrangements. By the time of this "fatal shot" disclosure of only a small fraction of what he had lied about and succeeded in hiding Nixon's insurance was set and paid off on.

Extra space

Our account of the unimpeachment of Richard Nixon began with ~~the~~ what has become the cleanest part of that agony, his "explectives deleted" fuck, shit, pisses and who knows are really cares what else that so offended his hardcore. It closes with eht ~~xxx~~ authentically obscene, he leaving.

Naturally Nixon was not about to admit that he'd bought insurance in making Ford President. Bu the fact are a) that Nixon made Ford President and b) Ford gave Nixon full insurance-more even than he could deliver.

Consistency is the hobgoblin of the small mind. Nixon was consistent to and through the end. For all the world as though the entire world did not know truth from fiction, he delivered his resignation address to the nation at 9:01 p.m. August 8, 1974 forst calling it not his resignation but by titlexxxx merely "ADDDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE" and in the first sentence no more than "This is the 37th time I have spoken to you from this office, where so many decisions have been made that shaped the xxxxx history of this nation." (Quotations from official text.)

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If there is but a single sentence in which there is no public indecency it is in this one, which makes no reference to xxxxx his hidden and lied-about " decisions... that shaped the history of this nation."

Obscenity immediately took command of the unrecontant who immediatelt claimed innocence and to be the victim of these "enemies" again:

"I have always tried to do what was best for the Nation. Throughout the long and difficult period of the Watergate, I have felt it was my duty to xxxxxxxxx persevere, to make every possible effort to complete the term of office to which you elected me. In the past few days, however, it has become xxxxx evident to me that I no longer have a strong enough political base in the Congress to justify continuing that effort."

No smoking gun, no fatal shot, no admission of wrongdoing --the most serious crime in the Nation's two centuries of existence. No certain impeachment, the nation's first of a xxx president. No wholesale criminality. No exonomic political disasters. No revolving jailhouse doors. Only an innocent Nixon and an obdurate Congress determined to lay waste to the land "because I no longer have a strong enough base in the Congress to justify continuing" with these glorious efforts that had wrecked the country and disillusioned the people.

This set the spirit and the tone. TV picked it up, seeking to commercialize the ultimate in national disgrace. The next day CBS claimed 110 viewers of this UnWashingtonian "farewell." NBC, not to be outdone, claimed 130 million. Between them, ~~xxx~~ counting the infants and the dying, those who had no TV, those whose disgust tuned them elsewhere (in Washington alone one independent had an 8% audience opting football) and ~~xxx~~ counting the other commercial and non-commercial networks, these two claimed for sales purposes more than 100% of the total national population.

Not counting those who used radio, either.

Or those who had no stomach for any of it.

For more than two years, from Nixon's account, he had "persevered" only to "serve the constitutional purpose" that "Has been served."

This is probably the first time in the history of the world - certainly the first time a United States President - claimed that wheeling and dealing to stay out of jail was to "serve the constitutuonal process."

Here to the end Nixonas. He said so: "I would have preferred to carry through to the finish whatever the personal agony."

The echoes of Marc Antony ~~xxxx~~ were in his fantasies only.

As he quit Nixon proclaimed,"I have never been a quitter." Why this great sacrifice "abhorent to everny instinct in my body?" (In mortals instincts are in the mind.)So that Wthe problems we face at home and abroad" - his criminality was not one nor was any of his creation or his responsibiluty - can be faced by "a fullk-time President and a full-time Congress."

Naturally, all time taken from "full" was in he way because of his Watergateing.

Not at all. He forecast "my personal vindication" if he did not put the interest of the nation first, "in a period when our entire focus should be on the great issues of peace abroad and prosperity ~~xx~~ without inflation at home." Having begun and assured "inflation at home" and throughout the world, could he have said less?

He consolda him,self, however, knowing that "as I told the Nation when I nominated [Ford]the leadership of America will be in good hands."

"Good hands" indeed. Good enough to increase inflation, decrease prosperity and to force the public resignation of the new President's first personal appointee because he had been deceived and having been deceived in turn deceived the press and through it the nation.

Then the unbending poor abused man bent just a wee bit, the true humility of his great soul compelling the admission that "some of my ludgements were wrong" but he straightened immediate, halted by no more than a single comma, to proclaim purity again,"they were made in what I believed at the time were the best interest of the Nation."

Never before have breadaxed slaughter of the Constitution, wholesale robberies, the framing of the innocent, the beating ~~mf~~ up on citizens, common and uncommon stealing, abuse of diplomatic rightd and privileges, gypping on taxes and the subverting of the electreal process and of a system of society been raised to so high a purpose, "the best interest of the Nation."

A man whose spirit can soar so is not without charity:"And to those who have not felt able to give me your support [meaning ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ the overwhelming majority of the people and their elected representatives] let me say I leave with no bitterness toward those who have opposed me..."

In time, perhaps, they/will come to appreciate the rightness of the breadaxes slaughter of the Constitution, wholesale robberies, the framing of the innocent, the beating up on citizens, common and uncommon stealing, abuse of diplomatic rights and privilegges, gypping on taxes and the subverting of the electoral process and of a system of society as the absolute apetheosis of ~~xxxxxxx~~ selflessness and dedication to the public weal.

He has, this poor, misunderstood and abused man, a single regret,"not completing my term." But boundless gratitude for "serving as your President." Not to say getting rich on it.

When he talked about having"ended America's longest war," without metioning that

he had prolonged it for his first administration and into the second to assure the prolongation second, that mxx automatically became "the work of securing ak lasting peace in the world."

Here there were editing and content problems or the final typing was long delayed because there is a blank half-page, with the typing job the work of but an hour. It is followed by boasting with which those who buy gasoline and fuel oil may not entirely agree,"...100 million people in the Arab countries .... now look on us as their friends."

But we can forget about that many more Arabs because "For more than a quarter of a century in public life...I have fought for what I believed in."

This, at least, makes his belief clear enough. Especially when fortified with "what Theodore Roosevelt once said about the man in the arena,'Whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who valiantly strives, who errs and comes short again and again because there is no effort without error and shortcoming...spends himself in a worthy cause..."

One wonders if those in with"face marred by dust and sweat and him blood" and who erred before going to jail, if those caught in the Watergate and those caught up in what it led to appreciate that someone in the White House read something besides Six Crises.

In closing this announcement, just before he went off to a paranoidal seclusion and a paranoidal attempt to kill himself by refusing medical treatment, he "pledged" again that A as "I have done my very best all the days [since"I first took the oath of office as President" and] to be true to that pledge ...confident that the world xxxx is a safer place today."

History will have to recount if in the meaning he did not intend the world became "a safer place" the day he left it.

This was the more unemotional part of jis grand departure. The next day

the prelude to Valhalla was 19 ~~mmi~~ minutes of Hollywood ham, from 9:36 a.m. until 9:55, the official test of which is headed "REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CABINET AND THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF." He was still President, he arranged a farewell unlike any of the past, and he contribed to remain President long enough for the grand exit, complete with all the expensive trappings.

His resignation became effective when Air Force One, renamed by him "The Spirit of '76," was flying with a different spirit over Missouri. Gerald Rudolph Ford was sworn in at 12:05.

The grand exit was "one of those things that we always arrange whenever the President comes to speak...But on our part, believe me, it is spontaneous."

This is the real Nixon. Stll asking, "believe me," for an exit in disgrace so "spontaneous" there had to be that red carpet rolled out for the regal feet as he strode to the helicopter.

In that moment when his next urgent need was not to appear in court to testify as a witness or face criminal charges as a defendant it was only "au revoir. We will see you again."

This was a moment for kindness, for thought and forgiveness and the great spirit within the broken man rose to the occasion, heaping praises on "thus house" of which "I was thinking ~~xx~~... as we walked down this hall." It was not the "biggest," not "the finest" but "the best house" in the world. Because "This house has a great heart, and tht heart comes from those who serve."

For the cabinet too, kindness and appreciation, "I am proud of this Cabinet. I am proud of all the members who have served in our Cabinet." One is the first convicted ~~fxxx~~ criminal Attonrey Genral whose predecessorx was under multiple criminal indictments at that moment. ~~It~~ "I am proud of ~~the sub~~ our sub- Cabinet." One had already served his sentence.

It was a moment for generosity, too."...surewe have done some things wrong in this Administration, and the top man always takes the responsibility, and I have never

ducked it." ~~Only from the beginning "never" We~~ "Never" means only from the beginning. This is his newest proclamation of personal innocence and purity. Not he,, not even his, "this Administration" did those wrong things. They were "Mistakes, yes. But for personal gain, never. You did what you believed in." His fraudulently unpaid taxes alone were a half-million, his properties, not paid for and bought under dubious conditions were enhanced by taxpayers' millions, but "you" did it and not for personal gain.

For their children - "and I hope the Nation's children will hear it too" there was the tribute the "Government service that is far more important than money. It is a cause bigger than yourself...of making this the greatest nation in the world, the leader of the world, because without our leadership, the world with know nothing but ,possibly starvation..."
war/.." Here the dedication to Orwellian practise, where "peace is war." ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Much of Africa wasthen in its third year of well-televised starvation. And in his administration much of America's land lay fallow.

There was the admonition to be "strong," ~~xx~~ more important that "generous" generous as We have been" and "more generous" that we will be. The strength must be "in our hearts, strong in our souls, strong in our belief, strong in our willingness to sacrifice...in a pecuniary way, to serve the Government."

He had a message for those who ask "What will I tell my kids?" when "they see the mistakes that are [sic] made. They getthe impression that everyone ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ is here for the purpose of feathering his own nest." But that was "not in this Administration, not one single man or woman." Not he. And San Clemente and Key Biscayne were not "d feathered."

It gushed out in the strngest expression of mixed emotions, with incoherence and without logic or connection, from this new proclamation of purity to the country's need for "good farmers, good businessmen, good plumbers, good carpenters," whence without breakor connection, "I remember my old man....sort of a little man, common man." He was not calling himself a chip off the old block. He was proud of his old man who "was a streetcar motorman first, and then he was a farmer, and then he had a lemon ranch"

He was proud of his "old man," proud enough to remember and say of him and this lemon ranch that "was the poorest lemon ranch in California" that "He sold it before they found oil on it."

The transcript shows "(Laughter)".

Was this not a fitting time, too, to remember mother? "My mother was a saint." He repeated it before remembering he had, as "we look into the future," this "little quote in the speech last night from T.R. As you know, I kind of like to read books. I am not educated but I like to read books." Again, "(Laughter)" "And the T.R. quote was a pretty good one." So good that he followed it with another about T.R's daughter of whom T.R. had written when she died young that "She was beautiful in face and form and lovlier in spirit" with a "saintly unselfishness...oure." T.R. "thought the light had gone from his life forever — but he went on" to greatness because "he was a man. And as I leave, let me say that is an example I think all of us should remember..."

This was the occasion for more jaokes, more tanscript "(Laughter)" about how he passed the bar exams: "I mean my writing was so poor the bar examiner said,'We have just got to let the guy through.'"

Where was Moscow?

He was wound up. But he wound down with encouragement, saying "the young must know it" that after disaster "It is only a beginning always." They should also know that "greatness comes when you are really tested."

"And so I say to you on this occasion,as we leave, we leave proud of the people who have stood by us and worked for us..." All those jailed, all indicted, all who as befits corporate executives bought their way out with insignifcant fines.

"We want you to be proud of what you have done." He did not mention "Watergate." He could not have had it in mind with the admonition that followed,"Always give your best, never get discouraged, never be petty."

This man whose career was built on hate and who had official lists of "ehemies" to be hated anad against who he would use all the power of government had a fitting word

on hate and a caution against indulging it/ appropriate as he apparently saw it to his own innocence and a final curse on these "enemies":"always remember, others may hate you, but those who hate you don't win unless you hate them, and then you destroy yourself."

Unlike the official typed text the camera added a dimension. It caught the tears in the eyes of the head cocked eerily sideways, the slack of the jaw, the weight that pressed the shoulders down, the weight of the fallen world.

All the final paragraph si too much for the surviving spirits with its invocation of the "many faiths" and"we pray perhaps to different gods" [sic] despite which "you will always be in our hearts and you will be in our prayers."

It was an occasion to which one could only rise. There was no other direction possible. So rise he did, having compared himself with T.R.'s daughter so beautiful in form and soul, his sainted mother, forgiven his enemies while he warned them of their coming detsruction and found good words for the White House and even his "old man." Sp risen from The Watergate and still pure as he said he was pure and honest as he said he was honest and unenriched as he also said, he began this end with "we leave in high hopes, in good spirit and with a deep humility."

This was a new Richard Nixon.

He then strode like the hero he had just described himself as being, this ennoblement of all the nation stood for and all that was fine in man, out onto that red carpet and up the steps to the helicopter, waving as in a victory and with a smile where the tears had been and he raose again, this time in the chopper.

This time for the last time.

He was still high when at 12:05 p.m. August 9, 1974, he ceased being President and became the nation's first to force himself out of office.

Only the next day was it disclosed how that paranoia so visible and so taboo had expressed itself the night before on his order: "The entire staff of the White House was locked up inside...for 23 minutes while President Nixon walked the groubds before making his resignation speech...White House police were stationed outside of each of the locked doors. Nobody was allowed out and nobody was allowed in..."

Reporters thought they were the only ones locked in, an impression the White House did nothing to change."But it was all said to have been a mistake, that the Secret Service had "misunderstood President Nixon's wishes"...In fact the order...came... from ~~the~~ President Nixon himself..."(WxPost 8/10/74)

Extra space

The This was not the end of The Watergate. It was only the beginning of The Years of Our Ford. Orwell's spirit still dwell d in that great house.

The Ford who had srolen and sold the "TOP SECRET" tanscript for profit and then sworn falsely about it to be confirmed said he was not have a career of vetos as as his first signifficant legislative act vetoed amendments to the Freedom of Information law. The Ford who said he would not pardon Nixon -- this is the way his promise was taken and widely reported,- did in fact do exactly that.

It was one month to the day.

Ford picked a Sunday. He pulled it off in such secrecy and with such dishonesty that his personally-selected press Secretary, Ge ald terhorst, resigned in protest and in expiation of having deceived the press and the people through it. (AP 8/8/74)

There were rumors of a deal. Of course Ford denied them, as he had denied stealing the "TOP SECRET" transcript of that he would pardon Nixon. Naturally it had not been understood between him and Nixon that in return for Nixon's selecting him alone of all Americans to be the first appointed President he would grant Nixon a full pardon.

Ford's taste is no whit inferior to Nixon's. He selected a Sunday, August 8, and the moment that when he returned from pmayers. He selected the moment when there were fewer reporters in the White House press room and a skeleton TV staff only for his unannounced announcement.

It was on the next morning's front pages, there being no Sunday evening papers.

"For Grants Nixon Full Pardon, Says he has 'Suffered Enough" is the double banner accross the top of the Washington Post.

That issue also reported at least part of a deal, "Nixon to Control His Papers."

This meant control of all the evidence against himself and his cronies in crime.

The Nixon who was the unindicted co-conspirator in the major conspiracy trial due to begin any day was immunized by the man he made President from "all offenses against the Unoted States." Ford went further, loking into the future, and included in his "grant"of "a full, free and absolute pardon" along with all "offenses against the United States" ~~xxxx~~ Nixon "has committed" all he "may have committed or taken part in" for the time date defined as every minute of Nixon's Presidency plus while he fled it at government expense and any crime he may have commited to that midnight at San Clemente."

It was not only that Ford pardoned Nixon for even crimes unknown, ~~xxxxxx~~ not ~~xxx~~ merely that he had given Nixon title to all the papers and tapes generated during the entire Nixon Administration including all the records of the plottings of all the crimes and all the proofs not already out that caused this to be scandalous.

It was actually negotiated, as two potentates negotiate, with emissaries on both sides.

The dealings were reported fast enough. These things can't be kept secret.

And of all the government's lawyers, all those in the Justice Department or GSA who deal with such matters, none suited Ford. For this delicate mission he selected that same Benton L. Becker, who had been accused of attempted blackmail of ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxx~~ Louis Wolfson during ~~xxxx~~ the Ford/Nixon/Watergaters' attempt to impeach Justice Douglas.

At the moment Ford chose the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Becker with this past to work out the deal with Nixon that same Becker was under investigation by the Department of Justice for "alleged criminal tax violations" ~~xxxxx~~ (WxPost 10/18/74) His indictment for tax fraud had been recommended by the Department of Justice a month before Ford sent Becker to deal with Nixon. (NYTimes 9/23/74)

Yet no Department of Justice lawyer has, as Anthony Lewis put it (NYTimes 9/16/74) "played any part in the business or even saw the document before it was approved."

Becker also had helped Ford prepare for those confirmation hearings in which he had sworn falsely. (NYTimes, 8/9/74)

It was not long before some of his former clients who copped pleas in financial

scandals [illegible] shades of the Agnew who also made Ford President - were accusing Benton of crimes and of being part of some of their admitted crimes, as the Washington Post reported. This included suborning their perjury.

As it is writ in Ecclesiastes, with The Watergaters of act and of philosophy there is nothing new under the sun.

And as the poet writes, the wheel turns full scale.

Because of the years of abdication Nixon had remained unimpeached. Because he was able to pick his own successor he was able to obtain total absolution and to keep latched to most of his looting of the public till. (Ford had to take back by act of the [illegible] Congress [illegible] he had, through Becker, added to Nixon's reward.)

And because all the institutions of society failed and all the men in those institutions feared and failed because they feared the full story of The Watergate has not been told and now never will be.

What this [illegible] book adds to what was known can't be more than a fraction of what [illegible] could have been told, should have been and wasn't. But it adds new crime not charged.

The moving finger writes and as it writes moves on but it now can't write all that real justice, real freedom, real reason to have faith in society and its institutions, government and the men in it, require for a decent society.

It can't write what the people need to be secure in their rights and in their lives.

It can write what only one man can write.

It can lament there were not more men to write more.

And that those who did write did not write more and in some cases other than they did.